/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342 428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [487] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
● [487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
ooo them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

● 487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p. 249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalcázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones 600 in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

142
291
302

173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

• 487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241
361
[133] From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
● [487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

427 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea [illegible] bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, [illegible]y, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who

are more acculturated,